father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a present or an ox of Kondi, whoever does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used to cement neighbourly relations, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep, but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, conversation, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerenik* by the Kondi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo own wages, but except for men of two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average is little over 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, use this of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'Ogiek Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outcasts and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo[1], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in *JRAI*, 69, 1939, p. 172.

4.3.2 the absence of pastoral and agricultural habitations and cultivations, for both myths, and in fact for everything about them. Today it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

[4.3.2] [3.1.4]					
	Men:	Trapping game in the forest Making weapons, tools/tools, etc. Both: working for wages		Cultivation of shambas	
Family	Women:	Preparing the meals of trapping Making baskets, mats, clothes, etc. Household and food collecting		Cultivation of shambas	Both
[3.1.1]	Children:	Weeding Hunting Housework			
[3.1.2]	Men Living Alone:	Trapping Making things Preparing the meals of trapping Cooking housework		Cultivation of shambas	Both

● [3.1.4] Therefore this Canadian anthropologist, with a hunting background, and much to view as the ultimate achievement, that though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Chenchu (in 1939 at least) had a consistent economy in their pursuit of the ultimate goal.

3. Economic Activities

a. Purchasing

[3.1.1] [3.1.2] [3.1.3] [3.1.4] Money is to the Chenchu what milk is to the Dumb. It is sent-sacred [illegible] has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules exist to [illegible] but the majority fall. A person dead and are true as blood as the sons they that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, like of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Every Monk will, [illegible] unconsciously, that the reason for this law "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-hunt". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be other simply respect to the honey, finds a law that if married disrespectfully the majority will fall; or else fear of a which pointing a spell on the hive or honey

[3.1.4]

Fig. 9. Plan of a Dundee dhumba or hulpa showing a Fresh dhumba.

or Kipsikay in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called dreemal, that the original dhumba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dundee has a dhumba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a hoop, each contributing to the labour of making it; and in some cases Dundee share part of a brand dhumba with Fresh (Fig. 9).

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. But not white earth to boast over Thirteens (or Fourteens, as the Dundee call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, dawot, made of a sharpened ender, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags, by turned days, when other Dundee tend to the earth-producing ones, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the ones who owned over that tract of land, and though we for some to have been part, it is said that if a man should refuse the request, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dundee ever live there, this could not be verified. Today the Dundee sell coloured earth to the Fresh, who pay them at the rate of 3 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, ordeet, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes cassava oil) for rubbing on the head; white earth, cooroh, is used as a magical remedy in cases of toothache.

4. Cattle

If the Dundee had ever been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest is the soil as it is possible that they would have commenced themselves with agriculture and active trade. But their relations with the Fresh have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

Cunningham R-5 (1936-1939) 1953 FLA Durobe FLA

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payments, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Kotet acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kipsetkoony, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cosom and Tegwando were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Tegwando to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Kotet.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *ormat*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Mitin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollessos called Kapkilo, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korsera in his youth hunted at Kaptyet in Nandi, and shot over monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Sowen on Farm 1079: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korsera being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi were willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, [illegible] in 1929 were preserved any.

At the time of their move in 1917 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some [illegible] head in fact. But in 1929 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a true idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the elder or relationship [except F. Sis. D. D.], that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an enyam.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be erotic.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., B.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the clan is forbidden; but with a classificatory enokwond, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kokoo* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kokoo* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mendeki*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Elgon Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkoreon in the north to Ndarawet in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *M.M.*, 1935, 181.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

60.

Interment of the corpse. — Hereditary succession.

The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Ibeni only insofar as the poverty of the Ifuli affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., those rich with numerous progeny, are here buried by women, and, to be sure, in the bush near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the hut and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, there is reality these canine scavengers roam about the wealthy but unwilling corpse every night. *Then* does one have at his offering the centre of the heavy beer, consisting of rice porridge, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. The prayer beside the corpse of a twenty-fallen can have [illegible] approximately the [illegible] was and above about the Ibeni beside for the mourning.

In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Ibeni. The independence of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those entitled to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son of the principal wife receives the entire inheritance consisting of farms, women, and livestock. The latter form the principal part of the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Ibeni. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the *ni ibeshwa* leaves each of his wives a part of his livestock, which the one of the wife is sometimes then (Ibeni). Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

[illegible]